

J. D. Maclean
Victoria B.C. Canada

The Crisis in Party Politics

—and the Way Out

The Method and Advantages
of Proportional Representation

— AND AN —

ILLUSTRATIVE ELECTION

PRICE FIVE CENTS

(Reprinted from the "Westminster Review," Vancouver, B. C.)

SEPTEMBER, 1916

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"Westminster Review" Publishing Office, Vancouver, B. C.

Countries Using Proportional Representation

What countries are using proportional representation for the election of parliamentary chambers or provincial cantonal or municipal councils? Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Switzerland (nine cantons), Japan, Bulgaria, Servia, Union of South Africa, the Transvaal, Tasmania and others.

Opinions of Leading Men

Mr. George Leland, leader of the Radical Party in Belgium Chamber of Representatives, says: "We have used it for thirteen years . . . and the result is that not a single party or a fraction of a party is opposed to the reform. It has been said, it would lead to the splitting of parties, but it has had the opposite effect. Parties far from splitting into fragments, have brought their ranks closer together, but within these ranks they have found room for such diversity of opinion as may exist, nay as is essential within any living and active political force."

Sir John McColl, Agent General for Tasmania, says: "In Tasmania proportional representation has stood the test of many an election. We have demonstrated the ease with which the system can be worked. It has come to stay."

"Although I have fully seen the difficulties which attach to what is commonly known as minority representation, it surely is an extraordinary criticism upon our existing system that while a small handful of interested people can swing an election one way or the other, on their own personal issue, huge minorities like the minority of the unionists of Scotland are utterly and grossly unrepresented."—Balfour.

Burke says, "The virtue, the spirit, the essence of the House of Commons shall consist in its being the express image of the nation."

H. G. Wells, in discussing the social forces of Britain and America, says it is not so much reform we need as a means to reform, in a fair representation in our governing bodies, which can be secured by proportional representation only. Politicians say it is difficult to understand, but it takes but ten minutes. Further, "it is not the substitution of something for something else of the same nature. It is the substitution of right for wrong. It is the plain common sense of the greatest difficulty in contemporary affairs."

Adam Smith says, "This great discovery . . . inspired me . . . but anyone who throws it over as mere crochet may be pronounced as an incompetent statesman, unequal to the politics of the future."

Proportional Representation Society of Canada

The chief officers of the Proportional Representation Society of Canada are: Honorary President, the Rt. Hon. Earl Grey, G.C.B.; Honorary Vice-Presidents, John H. Humphreys, William Dudley Foulke, LL.D., and C. G. Hoag; President, Dr. James W. Robertson, C.M.G., LL.D., Ottawa; Vice-Presidents, Senator William Dennis, Halifax, N.S., and Dr. Michael Clark, M.P., Red Deer, Alberta; General Secretary, Ronald Hooper, 13 Second Avenue, Ottawa; French Secretary, J. Albert Foisy, care of "Le Droit," Ottawa; Treasurer, H. G. Barber, Ottawa.

The Western representatives on the council of the society are: F. J. Dixon, M.P.P., Winnipeg; G. F. Chipman, care of "Grain Growers' Guide," Winnipeg; I. P. Woodbridge, Lougheed Building, Calgary; Rev. F. H. Graham, and Dr. N. Wolverton, Nelson, B. C.; Dr. T. Procter Hall, Dr. W. A. McConkey, and A. G. Harvey, Vancouver, B. C.

The Crisis in Party Politics and the Way Out.

That there is a provincial and national crisis in party politics is generally recognized. The people's problem is to find the cause, with the object of finding a solution. Is the defect in the character and principles of democracy, or in an unfair representation of democracy? Is the influence in those character moulding centres, the Home and the Church, deteriorating, or is national character falsely mirrored in our legislatures and administrative assemblies? If "the hand that rocks the cradle" does "rule the world," why should there be a desire for the extension of the franchise? If the "virtue, essence and spirit" of any house of representatives consists in being the "express image of the nation," why the need of a referendum to correct our legislation, or a Royal Commission to examine the doings of our representative bodies?"

The People's Will and the House

All political parties agree in accepting the principle that "The will of the people must prevail," and there is also general agreement (whether for extraordinary questions, the referendum be adopted or not) that in ordinary circumstances, and in modern times, a popularly elected Representative Assembly, such as our Canadian Provincial Parliaments, is the necessary organ for carrying into effect the Will of the People. If any "House" be, for any reason, not truly representative, legislation and the control of government ceases to be in harmony with the Will of the People.

Self-government is replaced by an undemocratic and unrepresentative form of "cabinet control," and the "House" becomes merely an assembly for the registration of decisions, arrived at without its deliberative assistance. With just and fair representation, the more powerful the "House," and the more certain will it be of carrying into effect the popular demands. With unfair representation, the unchecked power of the "Commons" becomes dangerous to democracy, and self-government is reduced to an illusion. It is therefore plain that the proper constitution of all legislative assemblies is of vital interest to true democracy.

The Present Electoral Methods Defective

The prevailing plan of electing Dominion and Provincial Parliaments, as well as municipal and other councils is abnormally defective. The counties and cities are cut into a number of arbitrary divisions called "constituencies" and "wards," in each of which, (with a few exceptions such as Vancouver or Victoria, each of which has several representatives), a majority of voters elect a member. Electoral statistics, in this and other countries, have proven that this system of single member constituencies does not give just and adequate representation to all the elements of national life, and that for the following reasons:—

(1) The majorities and minorities on the legislative bodies are not in proportion to the voting strength of the country. The minority in each constituency is disfranchised. Large minorities all over the country have no representative, e. g., the Unionists of Scotland; Conservatives in Alberta; and the Liberals in British Columbia.

(2) In many districts political life is dead, because one or other party has no chance of electing representatives. A division in the party supporters by

running two candidates secures the defeat of the party, and renders the votes ineffective. This leads the electors to look to a nominating convention to control the selection of candidates. Special interests which seek special legislation can thus secretly control the selection of candidates. The small group, or machine, which effects this, can sell its influence to the special interest. The agent who makes the "deal" with the machine is the "boss."

Under this system the individual elector, who, on the whole, prefers his own party to any other, but, who, as times and circumstances change, seeks modifications in the party "creed," has only the choice of a man for whom his political affection is, at best, lukewarm, or probably whose policy he actively dislikes. The elector may have voted against this particular candidate in convention. Thus we see that this class of elector has no representative in Parliament. Nor has he any means of saying that he endorses nine-tenths, or three-fourths, or two-thirds of any particular programme. If it is possible that this can be done—and it is the object of this article to prove that this is possible—why should not this class of elector have all the liberty obtainable for the fullest expression of his political views? In this great matter of free franchise, there should surely be freedom. The onus of proof must necessarily fall upon those who affirm that the curtailment of the elector's freedom is necessary, and it is necessary for such that they should show just cause against any electoral system, if such can be found, that will give absolute freedom to both voter and representative alike. The net result of the present system is to increase, at the electors' expense, the powers of those who concern themselves more especially with the organization of parties. It is within this power to force the people to give assent to policies which many electors may strongly disapprove of, on pain of greater evils should anything be done to thwart the workings of the machine. The party manager can usually secure the exclusion of any member who shows too much independence by, as has been pointed out, running a third candidate against him.

Conditions Against Independence

It is not to be wondered at that, under such conditions, men whose co-operation in public affairs would be of great value, abstain from "mixing in politics." The "House" is not open to men of new ideas and men who seek to keep abreast of current opinion; men of high character who refuse to be bound to the acceptance of the "whole programme" of any political party. The simple fact that a small margin of votes can give a quite disproportionate effect to an election encourages political corruption, and drives from the service of the country some of our best men. Again, a small displacement of the boundaries of a constituency may alter the political representation. This encourages gerrymandering. A majority of the electorate has no security. A minority of the whole body of electors may secure a majority of seats. This happens where one party is concentrated mainly in one part of the country, and its opponents are more widely and evenly spread so as to have small majorities in many places, though actually a minority of the whole electorate. Legislation is rendered unstable, too rapid advance is followed by too violent reaction. *Are such conditions necessary?*

Democracy Unfairly Discredited

As a result of all this the principle of democracy is often charged with faults which are really the effects of this defective electoral system.

No Remedy in the Second Ballot or Alternative Vote

Neither the second ballot, nor the alternative vote could remove the inherent evils of the single member constituency system. On the contrary, this method has additional defects. It involves a struggle between two candidates

for the support of a third party, with which neither agrees. This is both immoral and inconvenient. It is quite immoral to send a member to Parliament to represent views which he does not hold, and to advocate principles with which he has no real sympathy. The second ballot was not popular in France and Belgium. In Australia, the alternate vote involved a struggle of the Conservatives and Liberals to defeat the Laborites.

Proportional Representation is the Cure

Proportional representation is the only method of curing these evils. It does not appeal to any one party, as a party measure, for its aim is to do justice to all sections and shades of opinion. In the many countries (Switzerland, Belgium, Sweden, Wurtemberg, South Africa, Tasmania) where it is in operation, it has given freedom and independence to both electors and representatives. It has rendered legislation more stable and popularly acceptable. No country which has experienced its benefits would dream of reverting to the evils and absurdities which are inseparable from any single member system.

What Is It?

Proportional representation is the representation of all classes of citizens, on elected bodies, such as councils, or legislative assemblies, in proportion to their voting strength. For example: The just representation for a constituency having 70,000 electors, of whom 40,000 are Conservative, 20,000 Liberals, 10,000 Laborites, is not seven Conservative members, but 4 Conservatives, 2 Liberals, 1 Labor member of Parliament.

The Method of Proportional Representation

Bearing in mind the definition that "Proportional representation is the representation of all classes of citizens on elected bodies, such as councils or legislative assemblies, IN PROPORTION TO THEIR VOTING STRENGTH," we now proceed to note the method by which this end may be attained:

1. Unite existing constituencies into larger ones returning three or more members each having regard to natural divisions of the country, such as large towns, counties or parts of counties. Give each constituency so formed a number of members proportionate to its size, the total number of the House being the same as at present or smaller. At a redistribution we do not alter the boundaries of the constituency (rendering redistribution and gerrymandering unnecessary), but change the representation only, and in proportion to the rise and fall of its electorate. The return of many members (within each constituency) makes it possible to give representation to more than one party.

2. Decide elections by a proportional system, such as that known as the Single Transferable Vote or the Hare System of Proportional Representation. The single vote enables a coherent body of electors of a reasonable size to obtain representation. Suppose that in a constituency which returns six members, 15,000 electors go to the poll as in Vancouver. As each elector has only one vote, only 15,000 votes can be recorded, and if a group consisting of 2,500 electors all vote for one and the same candidate, they can secure his return. For only 12,500 electors remain, for whom not more than five other candidates can each obtain 2,500 votes. If the liberal strength was 10,000 votes, they would secure four groups of 2,500 each, or four seats, while the conservatives would secure two groups of 2,500 each, or two seats. This would secure representation to both parties. This is the form of proportional representation that is in use in Japan. It requires efficient party organization and a well-disciplined electorate to prevent wasting the party's voting strength either by concentration

on a popular candidate or diffusion over many candidates who have no chance of being returned. Under the present system the Caucus, through the central nominating committee, has too much influence in the selection of candidates. The election is made subject to the control of the party organization.

The Transferable Vote

The defect in the single vote is remedied by making the vote transferable. In this way we secure to all parties—majorities and minorities—their fair share of representation—representation in strict proportion to their voting strength. The elector entering the polling booth does not know whether his favorite will receive more support than he requires, or whether he will receive so little as to have no chance of election. Thus a popular candidate of any party may receive say 3,500 votes when he needs only 2,500. Or a party may have scattered its votes over too many candidates and might lose the representation which it otherwise would gain. The transferable vote provides against both these contingencies. It enables the elector to indicate the candidate of his second choice (and even further choice) to whom his vote can be transferred.

- (1) When his first choice has more votes than he requires, or
- (2) When, after all excess votes have been transferred, the elector's first choice is at the bottom of the poll.

Thus the transferable vote preserves the secrecy of the ballot, and yet allows the electors to combine into groups of the necessary size. If a party contains three such groups it wins four seats; if a party contains two such groups it will obtain two seats.

The elector votes:—(1) By placing the figure 1 opposite the name of the candidate he likes best. He is also invited to place:—

- (2) The figure 2 opposite the name of his second choice.
 - (3) The figure 3 opposite the name of his third choice.
- and so on, numbering as many candidates as he pleases in the order of his preference.

The candidate, to ensure election, need not poll a majority, but only a certain proportion of the votes cast. The proportion of votes sufficient to render certain the election of a candidate is called the *Quota*. Thus in a single member constituency a candidate who polls one more than a half the votes must be elected, for no other candidate can obtain so many. So in a two member constituency the quota is one more than a third, for not more than two candidates can poll so many, and in a three member constituency one more than a fourth, and so on. Therefore, to ascertain the quota, divide the total of votes by one more than the number of seats to be filled and add one to the result. The percentage of votes necessary to elect a representative and the number of groups possible to be represented in an electoral district varies according to the number of seats allotted to it.

The Returning Officer ascertains the result of the election as follows:—

- (1) He counts each ballot paper as one vote to the candidate marked one thereon. He ascertains the number of votes obtained by each candidate and the total number of votes.
- (2) He ascertains the quota.
- (3) He declares elected the candidate who has secured the quota.

(4) He transfers in strict proportion the surplus votes of those candidates who have received more than the quota and credits them to the unelected candidates indicated as the next preferences of the electors, whose votes are transferred. This operation renders all votes effective.

Votes are Used and Not Wasted

For instance, in an election a popular candidate obtains 3,000 ballots when he only requires 2,000 ballots. He will be able to spare 1,000 papers or one-third of the whole of the papers on which he has been marked with the figure 1.

The Returning Officer re-sorts all the 3,000 papers according to the names marked 2. Suppose the result is that:—

Candidate B is marked "2" on 2,400 papers.

Candidate C is marked "2" on 600 papers.

Candidate A can spare one-third of all his 3,000 votes. He can, therefore, spare to B one-third of the 2,400 on which B is second preference, i. e., 800. He can similarly spare to C one-third of the 600 which C is second preference, i. e., 200. Accordingly 800 votes are transferred to B and 200 to C. This makes it possible to spread the votes of a party over as many candidates as possible without waste.

It is not enough to provide for excessive concentration. Excessive diffusion must also be guarded against, otherwise a party may waste its vote by reason of having miscalculated its strength and running too many candidates. He eliminates the candidates lowest on the poll one after another by transferring their votes in accordance with the wishes of their supporters to the candidates indicated as next preferences. This process is continued until the required number of candidates having each obtained the quota have been declared elected, or the number of candidates not eliminated is reduced to the number of seats still vacant, in which event the candidates next not eliminated are declared elected. It thus appears that the effect of the vote being made transferable is to ensure that all parties or divisions of opinion received their fair share of representation.

As already noted, the transferable vote enables the elector to indicate the candidate of his second and further choice to whom his vote can be transferred.

1. When his first choice has more votes than he requires, or
2. When after all excess votes have been transferred the elector's first choice is at the bottom of the poll.

The secrecy of the ballot is preserved, and yet the electors are allowed to combine into groups of the necessary size or quota. If any body of electors contains three such groups it will win three seats. If a party contains only two such groups it obtains two seats, and if it contains only one such group it obtains one member, and no combination of parties as in the second ballot, no bargaining between headquarters, no skilful orders to electors can possibly prevent a number of electors in a constituency equal to the quota from obtaining the representative of their choice.

This is the peculiar merit of the system. Let popular feeling run ever so strong, a firm and compact minority who have courage and consistency to stand together, will get into the House as many representatives of their own choice as their own numbers entitle them to have.

An Illustrative Election—the Advantages of Proportional Representation.

This illustrative election is held over a constituency which returns *five members* of Parliament, and it is assumed that the following *Nine candidates* have been nominated. Each elector has one transferable vote.

BALLOT PAPER

Mark Order of Preference in spaces below	Names of Candidates
	ASQUITH, The Rt. Hon. H. H.
	BANBURY, Sir Frederick
	CECIL, LORD ROBERT
	CHAMBERLAIN, The Rt. Hon. J. Austen
	GEORGE, The Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd
	HARCOURT, The Rt. Hon. Lewis
	LAW, the Rt. Hon. A. Bonar
	MACDONALD, J. Ramsay
	SNOWDEN, Philip

INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS

Vote by placing the figure 1 opposite the name of the candidate you *like best*.
You are also invited to place

The figure 2 opposite the name of your *second choice*.

The figure 3 opposite the name of your *third choice*, and so on, numbering as many candidates as you please in the order of your preference.

NOTE.—The paper will be valid if only the figure 1 is marked, but voters are advised to number in the order of their preference the names of all candidates whom they would desire to see elected. The paper will be spoiled if the figure 1 is placed opposite the name of more than one candidate.

Result of Election

No. of Votes - 115 No. of Seats - 5 Quota = $\frac{115}{5} + 1 = 20$

Names of Candidates	2nd Count		3rd Count		4th Count		Final Count		Elected Candidates with order of seniority.
	1st Count	Transfer of Law's Surplus	Transfer of Harcourt's Votes	Result	Transfer of Snowden's Votes	Result	Transfer of George's Votes	Result	
ASQUITH (Lib.)	14		+	17		17	+	25	Asquith (4)
BANBURY (Cons.)	5	6		11		11		11	
CECIL (Cons.)	10	9		19		19		19	Cecil (5)
CHAMBERLAIN (Cons.)	5	15		20		20		20	Chamberlain (2)
GEORGE (Lib.)	7		+	8		8	-	8	
HARCOURT (Lib.)	4		-	4		4			
LAW (Cons.)	50	30		20		20		20	Law (1)
MACDONALD (Lab.)	13			13	+	20	+	20	Macdonald (3)
SNOWDEN (Lab.)	7			7	-	7	-		
Totals	115	—	—	115	—	115	—	115	

EXPLANATION OF ELECTION RESULT

1st Count—

The returning officer sorts the ballot papers according to the names marked with the figure 1 and credits each candidate with one vote in respect of each ballot on which his name is so marked. The result is shown in the first column.

Ascertainment of Quota—

The returning officer then ascertains the quota, i. e., the minimum number of Votes which for a certainty will secure the election of a candidate. This minimum is in this election 20 and is found by dividing 115 (the number of votes polled) by 6 (one more than the number of seats) and by adding 1 to the result of the division. The division of 115 by 6 yields 19 and the quota is $19 + 1$, i. e. 20. In a total poll of 115, six candidates can obtain as many as 19 votes but only five can obtain as many as 20. There are five members to be elected, and therefore any candidate who obtains 20 votes must for a certainty be elected.

Election of Mr. Bonar Law—

The returning officer then declares elected every candidate who at the first count obtains a quota or more of votes. Mr. Bonar Law has 50 votes and is declared elected.

2nd Count. Transfer of Mr. Bonar Law's Surplus—

Mr. Law has received 30 votes in excess of the quota, and these excess votes are transferred in such a way as to give effect to the wishes of those who voted for him. To ascertain these wishes, all Mr. Law's 50 papers are re-examined and sorted according to the names marked with the figure 2. The sorting resulted as follows:—

Banbury	10	} 50 ballots.
Cecil	15	
Chamberlain	25	

Mr. Law can spare 30 out of his 50 votes, i. e. three-fifths. Therefore he can spare to Sir F. Banbury three-fifths of the 10 votes on which the latter is second preference, i. e. 6. Similarly he can spare to Lord Robert Cecil three-fifths of the 15 votes on which he is second preference, i. e. 9. And lastly he can spare to Mr. Chamberlain three-fifths of the 25 votes on which he is second preference, i. e. 15. Six, nine and fifteen votes are accordingly transferred to Sir F. Banbury to Lord Robert Cecil, and to Mr. Chamberlain respectively as their proper shares in Mr. Law's surplus.

Election of Mr. Chamberlain—

As a result of the transfer of Mr. Law's surplus, Mr. Chamberlain attains the quota. He is accordingly declared elected.

3rd Count. Transfer of Mr. Harcourt's Votes—

After all surplus votes have been transferred, the returning officer declares defeated the candidate who is at the bottom of the poll, in this case Mr. Harcourt. The votes recorded for Mr. Harcourt are not wasted. His ballot papers are re-examined and the votes transferred to the candidates named thereon, as the next choice of those who voted for Mr. Harcourt.

4th Count. Transfer of Mr. Snowden's Votes—

Mr. Snowden is now at the bottom of the poll. His papers when re-examined show that his supporters have indicated Mr. Macdonald as their next choice, and the votes are accordingly transferred to Mr. Macdonald, who, having now attained the quota, is declared elected.

5th Count. Transfer of Mr. Lloyd George's Votes—

Mr. Lloyd George is now at the bottom of the poll, and his papers when re-examined disclosed a next choice for Mr. Asquith to whom the votes are accordingly transferred. Mr. Asquith's total is now 25, which is more than the quota and he is declared elected. There now remains but one seat to be filled. It will be seen that even if all Mr. Asquith's surplus votes (5) fall to Banbury his total would be only 16. As this total is less than Cecil's (19), Banbury is declared defeated and Cecil is declared elected to fill the last seat.

Result—

Each party obtains representation in proportion to its strength and secures as representatives those candidates whom it most prefers.

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

Party	Party vote as shown by first preferences	Seats won
Conservatives	70	3
Liberal	25	1
Labor	20	1

Advantages of Proportional Representation

Proportional representation was adopted by the Belgium Legislature in 1890. Several general elections have been held, and Count Goblet d'Alviella summarizes the results of the reform as follows:—

1. We have gained the consciousness that the groups of deputies fairly represent the proportional forces of the respective parties.
2. We have secured for each party the absolute right to choose and return its own leaders.
3. We have introduced more sincerity into electoral platforms.
4. Political life has never been more active. It has even reached several districts where there had been no contest for more than twenty years.
5. We have everywhere diminished party animosities, and all parties are satisfied with the working of the system.

The Elector is freed. It widens his choice. Whenever the official nominee is unacceptable, the electors can nominate a further candidate without affecting adversely the representation of the party in Parliament. His vote is always effective in building a group having a leader as members. He votes for the candidates whose policy he favours. No circumstances can prevent his vote counting. This frees him from the controlling influence of the caucus. All votes have one value, even those of the minority, and no small sectional or financial interest can control the results of an election. He votes intelligently because he has to make a choice between leaders of public opinion. He is able to do justice to his principles of citizenship in a just, fair and effective way. He takes more interest in voting.

The Representative is freed. He has no longer to secure the assent of the Central Nominating Committee, so long as he can secure sufficient support to form a group equal to the quota he is sure of being

returned. He no longer has to satisfy all classes in his constituency in order to command a majority. He no longer need fear to criticise, if necessary, the expenditure and administration of the executive, so long as he adheres to his election promises—he is no longer a rubber stamp. He is free to vote on measures in accordance with his own conscience, and in accordance with the will of a whole constituency or group of voters that put him in, instead of feeling obliged to placate a few voters sufficient to turn the scale in his district who may be a very small but active minority. He is no longer a prisoner of the Big interests through the influence of the machine, nor of the small self-interested group of voters who have used the balance of power in a close contest.

Public Opinion is represented by its leaders in strict proportion to its voting strength. The majorities shall rule but the minorities shall be heard. Those new forces and stimuli which, in whatever class of society they arise, are the real hope of the future shall there easily and naturally find representation.

"Every strain of opinion honestly entertained by any substantial 'body of his King's subjects shall there find expression and speech.'—Asquith.

Each group shall be represented by the ablest and best men independent of any caucus, machine, boss or whip, and shall continue to support him on his decisions so long as they are the opinion of his group. This will ensure more stability in our legislation and continuity of service of our experienced legislators and civil officials.

The people having absolute power to choose and return their own leaders, Democracy regains control of the Government, and the House, being an exact image of the nation, (in all its workings) would hold the confidence and respect of the electorate, rendering extra parliamentary action (referendum) unnecessary. The House having sovereign power, there would be no tendency to control of the executive. The power of the political organization would be limited to that which legitimately arises from organization.

PROGRESS OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Other countries are moving towards its adoption. The Hare System of election shall be the form of election for the House of Lords, when that body becomes elective. The Municipal Representation Bill which passed both houses of the Imperial Parliament in 1914 grants to municipalities of the old land the privilege to use this system in the election of their councillors. The growth of the labour party within the House of Commons, and the creation of a new Second Chamber by the fairer system of election, caused the appointment of a Royal Committee of the House of Commons to investigate proposed and tried forms of election. It reported in favor of the single transferable vote, but while granting that the time would inevitably come when a change would be necessary, they could not adopt it "now and here" until the people had acquaintance with its working, which the new Municipal Act was intended to supply. "It is infinitely to the advantage of the House of Commons if it was to be a real reflection and mirror of the national mind, that there should be no strain of opinion honestly

entertained by any substantial body of the King's subjects, which should not find there representation and speech."—Asquith.

France sought in the Second Ballot a solution to their three-cornered fight but found it only exaggerated the chaos in their political situation. In 1914 both chambers passed a bill in favor of the Single Transferable Vote as their future form of election. The Liberal party of British Columbia and the Labour party of Canada are committed to it. The platform committee of the Liberal party of Canada have it under consideration. Recent legislation in New Zealand provides for its use in the municipal elections and in the election of the members of the Legislative Council, which has hitherto been a nominated body. Australia, under the able leadership of Miss Spence, is making strides toward the final adoption in these States of proportional representation as the form of election in public life. The cities of Calgary and Ottawa have asked for legislation enabling them to use it for the election of members of their councils.

The Irish Home Rule Bill provides for the election of the Irish Senate and House of Commons by proportional representation. In this connection it is a notable fact that the commission appointed at the close of the American civil war reported that had the minorities of the South and the minorities of the North been represented in Congress there would have been no civil war. The present system, by suppressing the representation of the minorities, gives an exaggerated expression of the prevailing political tendencies of a district. For 30 years past the minorities in the North of Ireland, and the minorities of the South of Ireland have been unrepresented. The organizations of the minorities have ceased to exist because there was no hope of obtaining representation. The reconciling forces, too, those who sought to bring the North and South together, have equally failed to obtain representation. During the whole of this long period there has existed a rigid political brick wall between the North and South in the British House of Commons, and this has added materially to the difficulties of statesmen in finding an amicable solution of the Irish question.

"Let all substantial bodies, be they Conservatives, Liberals, Laborites, Catholics or Orangemen, of the King's subjects, have just and proportionate representation, there will then be no excuse for the idea that Ireland contains no sober and responsible citizens, or that Scotland and Wales have hardly any unionists; or that Ontario and the other provinces have no men in sympathy with the French Canadians; and Quebec no men who place the good of the Confederation and Empire before any petty provincial advantage; or that there are no imperialists in the remote colonies who in sympathy with their imperial friends in the old land, place the cementing of the empire before any petty colonial advantage; or that there are not in the central powers, patriots who realize that the success of the international court far outweighs any petty national advantage. Who knows but that if proportional representation had been in force in Germany and England for 30 years past, and the forces making for friendly international relations had been able to develop leadership, and to find continuous and effectual expression within the parliaments of these countries, this great European conflict might have been averted.

BRITISH COLUMBIA AFFAIRS AND PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

What shall be the influence of proportional representation in our municipal and provincial affairs? The adequate vote, or effective vote awakens new interest instead of apathy in political affairs in the best citizen, who places public good before private advantage. He no longer need fear that by voting for a

candidate of his choice he might divide the party's strength, hence he no longer looks for guidance to a nominating committee, which is subject to being manipulated by the special interest through his agent the boss, who makes the deal with the machine or controlling interest in the selecting convention. He can now give expression to his sense of good citizenship in an intelligent and effective way. The party's representation shall depend upon the number of groups equal to the quota, which it can build up. The party who places in its list the strongest leaders (prohibitionists) as candidates shall secure the greatest number of votes. Leaders (statesmen) of public opinion (reforms) shall be sought rather than politicians (opportunists) dispensers of patronage. The electors' vote shall not be rendered ineffective by the small self-seeking or corruptible group, who hitherto has controlled the balance of power. The representative is free to concentrate his attention and energies on the issues on which he was returned. He gains strength by educating the public to his ideals; by free speech on the floor of the house, rather than behind closed doors or in committee; and by the more effective and economic manner in which it carries them into effect—an efficient civil service and economical administration.

The "whip" who represents the big interests in the selecting committee, and the small corruptible interests in the balance of power need no longer threaten him with oblivion for a strong, energetic stand in sympathy with the opinions of those who returned him, or for criticising any questionable legislation or administration. We shall have no more "rubber stamps." The tendency of the system to cause the selection and support as representatives of statesmen rather than politicians, the necessity for the use by the people of such instrumentalities as the initiative and referendum and Royal Commissions will be greatly lessened, if not removed. Each vote shall have one value. The fair representation of minorities shall secure the healthy controlling influence of the "opposition."

In the municipalities, proportional representation shall provide a guarantee that the results of our election will reflect the opinions of the citizens by the ablest men in the district, and a reasonable probability of the re-election of those councillors who have served their town well and who retain the confidence of a considerable section of the electors. A good councillor must know his work and know it well. A batch of new councillors every year are helpless in the hands of the permanent officials, who can often control the balance of power in the many wards. Under present conditions, when so large a part of the municipal work is the conduct of undertakings which have to be managed with some continuity of direction, the need for keeping the personnel of our municipal councils as stable as the electorate—neither more or less—is especially urgent. Success in one direction, followed by reaction in another, is fatal in business management. Proportional representation provides the most favorable conditions for the concentration of public attention upon truly municipal issues.

A PROOF-READING SERVICE AT WESTMINSTER REVIEW OFFICE, VANCOUVER

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Proof-reading of printed matter that makes for accuracy throughout is, like many other things, not so simple as it may seem, and hence the occurrence and recurrence of many "typographical errors." At one reading of a booklet just off the press, the "Westminster Review" reader found about a dozen errors, even though we understand proofs in that case had had more than ordinary attention from the printer and the author.

The publishers of the "Westminster Review" are arranging to undertake the revision of all kinds of printed matter at a moderate percentage rate on the cost of printing. The checking of printers' rates may also be undertaken, if desired.

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REVIEWS OF THE "WESTMINSTER REVIEW" FROM VANCOUVER DAILY PAPERS

"Westminster Review" for June

An article of great interest, on the subject of the University of British Columbia, the third in the series on the educational system of British Columbia, by C. N. Haney, M.A., is the feature of the Westminster Review for June. The article criticizes the attitude of the provincial government towards the university. The article is a severe indictment of the government's neglect of the university. Other strong articles give the June number the vigorous character expected from such a magazine. Rev. R. G. MacBeth's "Notes and Comments" is a department full of vitality and common sense. The editorial articles are as usual readable and outspoken. As an expression of the culture of the community this little magazine is deserving of attention, and should be read by everyone. Other articles in the current number are "The Great Discovery," by Rev. W. H. Bridge, of Cranbrook, and Western Canadian church notes, by Rev. G. R. Welch, Rev. A. E. Roberts, Archdeacon Heathcote and Rev. J. Richmond Craig. The magazine is independent in politics.—The "Sun."

"Westminster Review."

Tribute to the late Lord Kitchener from several pens, a second instalment of the article describing the system of proportional voting, a method designed to allow of all groups of citizens securing political representation in the ratio of their numerical strength, and an article by the Rev. W. H. Bridge of Cranbrook, constitute the chief features of the "Westminster Review" for June. A leading place is assigned to Mr. C. N. Haney's survey of the educational system of the province. His latest instalment deals with the provincial university and criticises more or less adversely what he regards as a failure on the part of the promoters to realize the plans originally formulated and fulfil the aspirations freely expressed for the weal of the institution. Mr. Bridge's paper: "The Great Discovery," is a reassertion of the place that Christianity should fill in ordering the communal social and economic life of the nation according to its moral tenets, the "discovery" being, in fact, a "realization of the social and economic implications of Christianity." Additional contributions have been secured and the chatty budgets of news they supply are an increased attraction to the magazine, which maintains its well known standard of bright readability throughout.—The "News-Advertiser."

AN INTERESTING NUMBER

Social-Political Discussions in the "Westminster Review."

The latest issue of the "Westminster Review" provides twenty-eight pages of reading matter bearing upon social, educational and religious affairs. Under the title "The Crisis in Party Politics and the Way Out," the method of "proportional representation" is clearly set forth. The third of a series of articles on the educational system of British Columbia deals with the British Columbia University and contains many comments and suggestions likely to provoke discussion.

In the section of "Western Canadian Church Notes" the expansion of the "Review's" field throughout Western Canada is shown by the inclusion of contributions from the interior, the writer being Rev. W. H. Bridge, rector of Cranbrook. The same contributor is responsible for a short article, "The Great Discovery," which is sure to stir thought concerning the attitude of the Christian Church to social questions.

The editorial pages contain references to "Kitchener" "A Notable Addition to Western Church Life," "Kitchener Memorial Service" and other timely topics, and a question is raised with readers of the "Review" as to the name "Westminster." Other contents include "The Children's Page" and Rev. R. G. MacBeth's "Notes and Comments" on current events.—The "Province."

Established 1911
The Social, Educational and Religious Monthly of the Canadian West

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Westminster Review

Published at Vancouver, B. C.
Mailed Direct to Subscribers for a Dollar a Year (in advance)

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"TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS"—AND OTHERS

At a certain notable gathering some months ago, it might have been observed that the beautifully designed and beribboned programme was marred by a typographical error, the word "unflinching" being printed for "unflinchingly" in the verse from the Canadian Dominion Anthem:

"At Britain's side, whate'er betide, unflinchingly we'll stand."

The same error was made on a big club card shortly before. Some weeks ago the bulletin of a certain Vancouver church contained an announcement that the subject to be considered at a certain meeting was: "The IM-MORALITY of the Soul."

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